



REBUILDING THE WORLD

(TO BUILD THE WORLD A NEW)

**Speech of the President of the
Republic of Indonesia before the
XVth General Assembly of the U.N.
on September 30, 1960**

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Mr. Chairman,
Your Honors,
Honorable delegates and representatives,

Today, in addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations, I feel oppressed by a great sense of responsibility. I feel humbled to speak before this august assembly of wise and experienced statesmen from east and west, from north and south, from old and young nations and from nations just awakening from a long slumber.

I have prayed to Almighty God that my tongue may find the right words to express my heart's feelings, and I have also prayed that these words will resonate in the hearts of those who hear them.

It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Chairman on his appointment to his high and constructive post. I am also very pleased to extend on behalf of my nation a very warm welcome to the sixteen new Members of the United Nations.

The Holy Book of Islam mandates something to us at this time. The Qur'an says: "O people, I have made you from a man and a woman, and you are nations and tribes, that you may know one another. And the nobler among you is the one who is more pious towards Me".

And the Christian Gospel tells us. "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth among those whom He favors".

I was deeply moved to let go of my view of this Assembly. Here is proof of the truth of the struggle that has gone on for generations. Here is proof that sacrifice and suffering have achieved their goals. Here is proof that justice is beginning to prevail, and that some great evils have been eliminated.

Furthermore, as I turned my gaze to this Assembly, my heart was overwhelmed with a great, great joy. It clearly appears to me that a new day is dawning, and that the sun of freedom and emancipation, the sun of which we have long dreamed, is rising in Asia and Africa.

Now, today, I speak before the leaders of nations and the builders of nations. But, indirectly, I also speak to those whom you represent, to those who have sent you here, to those who have entrusted their future in your hands. I deeply desire that my words will resonate also in those hearts, in the conscience of humanity, in the great hearts that have raised so many shouts of joy,

so many cries of suffering and despair, and so much love and laughter.

Today it is President Soekarno who speaks before you. But more than that, he is a human being, Soekarno, an Indonesian, a husband, a father, a member of the human family. I am speaking to you in the name of my people, 92 million people in a far and wide archipelago, 92 million people who have experienced a life of struggle and sacrifice, 92 million people who have built a State on the ruins of an Empire.

They, and the peoples of Asia and Africa, the peoples of the Americas and Europe, and the peoples of Australia, are watching and listening and hoping. This organization of the United Nations is for them a hope for the future and a possibility-both for today.

The decision to attend this session of the General Assembly was not an easy one for me. My own nation faces many problems, while time to solve these problems is always very limited. But this is probably the most important Assembly ever held and we all have a responsibility to the world as a whole as well as to our own nations.

None of us can avoid that responsibility, and certainly none of us wants to avoid it. I firmly believe that the leaders of the younger countries and the born-again countries can make a very positive contribution to solving the many problems facing the Organization and the world at large. Indeed, I believe that people will say once again that: "The new world was asked to redress the balance of the old world".

It is clear that today all the problems of our world are interconnected. Colonialism has to do with security; security has to do with the question of peace and disarmament; disarmament has to do with the peaceful development of undeveloped countries. Well, everything is interconnected. If we finally succeed in solving one problem, it opens the way for solving other problems. If we succeed in solving, for example, the problem of disarmament, then the necessary funds will be made available to help those nations that desperately need that help.

What is necessary, however, is that all problems should be solved by the use of agreed principles. Any attempt to solve them by the use of force, or by the threat of force, or by the possession of power, will certainly fail and will even lead to worse problems. In short, the principle to be followed is the principle of equal sovereignty for all nations, which is nothing but the exercise of human and national rights. For all nations there must be: one basis, and all nations must accept that basis, for the protection of themselves and for the salvation of humanity.

If I may say so, we from Indonesia take a very special interest in the United Nations. We have a very special desire for this Organization to develop and succeed. Because of its actions, the struggle for our own independence and national life has been shortened. I can say with full confidence that our struggle will in any case be successful, but the actions of the United Nations have shortened the struggle and the national life.

has prevented much sacrifice and suffering and destruction, both on our side and on the side of our opponents.

What is the reason why I believe that our struggle will succeed either with or without the activities of the United Nations? I am convinced of this for two reasons. First, I know my people; I know their infinite thirst for national independence, and I know their determination. Secondly, I am convinced of it because of the course of history.

All of us, everywhere in the world, are living in an age of nation-building and the fall of empires; it is an age of the rise of nations and the rise of nationalism.

To close our eyes to this reality is to be blind to history, to ignore our destiny and to reject reality. I say again, we live in the age of nation-building.

This process is inevitable and certain; sometimes it is slow and inexorable, like lahar down the slope of a volcano in Indonesia; sometimes it is fast and inevitable, sharing the breakthrough of a flood from behind an imperfectly constructed dam. Slow and inevitable, or fast and inevitable, the victory of the national struggle is a certainty.

When the journey to freedom is completed throughout the world, our world will be a better place; it will be a cleaner and much healthier place. We must not stop fighting at this moment, when victory has appeared, instead we must redouble our efforts. We have made a promise to the future and it must be fulfilled. In this we are not just fighting for our own interests, we are fighting for the interests of the entire human race, yes, our struggle is even for the interests of those we are about.

Five years ago, twenty-nine Asian and African nations sent delegates to the Indonesian city of Bandung. Twenty-nine Asian and African nations. Now, how many independent nations are there? I am not going to count them, but please look around this Assembly now! And tell me if I am right, when I say that now is the time of nation-building, and the time of the rise of nations. Yesterday it was Asia, and that was an unfinished process. Now Africa, even that is a process, it's not finished yet.

Moreover, not all the nations of Asia and Africa are represented here. The organization of these nations has been weakened as long as it has rejected the representation of one nation, and especially an old and wise and strong nation.

I mean China. I mean what is often called Communist China, which for us is the only real China. This organization of nations is greatly weakened precisely because it rejects the embassy of the largest nation in the world.

Every year we support China's admission into the United Nations as an ambassador. We will continue to do so. We do not give that support simply because we have good relations with that country. And we certainly don't support it for partisan reasons. No, our stand on this issue is guided by political realism. By shortsightedly excluding a great nation, a great and powerful nation in terms of its quantum, culture, features of an ancient civilization, a nation full of economic strength and power, by excluding that nation we further weaken this international Organization, and thus, further distance it from our needs and ideals.

We are determined to make the United Nations strong and universal and able to fulfill its proper functions. That is why we have always supported China's participation in our neighborhood. Moreover, disarmament is an urgent need in the world. This most important of all problems should be negotiated and solved within the framework of this Organization. But how can a realistic disarmament be achieved if China, which is one of the most powerful countries in the world, is not included in these deliberations?

China's representation in the United Nations will include the country in constructive world affairs and will thus truly strengthen this institution.

In the year nineteen-sixties, the General Assembly once again convened for its annual session. But this General Assembly should not be regarded as just another routine session, and if it is, if it is regarded as a routine session, then it is likely that the International Organization as a whole will be threatened with collapse.

Mark my words, that is my plea! Do not treat the issues that you are about to discuss as routine. If so treated, this Organization which has given us a hope for the future, a good possibility of international harmony, may break up. It may disappear slowly under the tide of dissension, as did the organization it replaced. When this happens, humanity as a whole will suffer, and a great dream, a great ideal, will be destroyed. Remember it is not just words that you are dealing with, it is not pawns on a chessboard that you are dealing with. What you are dealing with are human beings, human dreams, human aspirations and the future of all human beings.

With all sincerity, I say: we, the newly independent nations, intend to fight for the interests of the United Nations. We intend to fight for its success and to make it effective. This body can be effective and will be effective only if its members recognize the inevitability of the course of history. It can only be effective if it follows the course of history and does not try to block or divert or obstruct it.

I have said that this is the time of nation-building and the fall of empires. That is the real truth. How many nations have gained their independence since the creation of the Charter of the United Nations? How many nations have thrown off the chains of oppression? How many empires built on human oppression have crumbled? We who were voiceless are no longer silent. We who were silent in the misery of imperialism are silent no more. We, whose life struggles were hidden under the veil of colonialism, are no longer hidden.

Since that historic day in Nineteen Forty-Five the world has changed, and it has changed for the better. From this age of nation-building has come the possibility - yes, the necessity - of a world free from fear, free from want, free from national oppression. Now, right now, in this General Assembly, we can prepare ourselves to place ourselves in that future world, the world we have thought about and dreamed about and envisioned.

We can do that, but only if we do not treat this session as a routine session. We must recognize that the United Nations faces an accumulation of problems, each urgent, each posing a possible threat to peace and peaceful progress.

We are determined that the fate of the world, our world, will not be decided without us. It will be decided with our participation and cooperation. Decisions that are important for the peace and future of the world can be made here and now. Heads of State and Heads of Government gather here. That is the framework of our Organization. I sincerely hope that rigid matters of protocol and petty hurt feelings, - individual and national feelings, - will not prevent the best use of this opportunity. Such an opportunity will not come often. It must be used to its fullest potential. We currently have a unique opportunity to combine individual diplomacy with public diplomacy. Let us seize this opportunity. The opportunity will not come back again!

I am deeply aware that the presence of so many Heads of State and Heads of Government fulfills the expectations of millions of people. They will be able to take vital decisions that will set a new face for our world and therefore a new face for the United Nations.

It is appropriate at this time to consider the position of the United Nations in relation to today's age of development and the rise of nations.

Let me put it this way: for a newborn nation or a reborn nation the most precious possessions are independence and sovereignty.

Perhaps - I don't know, but perhaps - that sense of holding on to this precious jewel of sovereignty and independence, is only found amongst newly resurgent nations. Maybe after a few generations that feeling of pride and accomplishment fades. Maybe so, but I don't think so.

Even today, a hundred years later, is there an American who does not tremble at the words of the Declaration of Independence? Is there an Italian who does not now welcome the call of Mazzini? Is there a Latin American who no longer hears the voice of San Martin?

Indeed, is there a citizen of the world who does not welcome these calls and voices? We all tremble, we all welcome, because those voices are universal, both in time and place. They are the voice of suffering humanity, the voice of the future, and we still hear them throughout the ages.

No, I am sure, as sure as I can be that within national sovereignty and independence there is something eternal, something as hard and bright as a jewel, and far more precious.

Many nations of the world have long possessed this jewel. They have been used to it, but I am sure that they still consider it the most beloved of their possessions, and they would rather die than give it up.

Isn't that so? Will your own nation ever be willing to give up its independence? Any nation worthy of the name nation will choose death! Any leader worthy of being called a leader of any nation will also choose death!

How much more precious it is to us, who once upon a time possessed that jewel of national independence and sovereignty, and then felt it snatched from our hands by heavily armed bandits, and which we have now reclaimed!

This United Nations is an organization of Nation States, each of which holds the jewel in its hands as something precious. We have all come together voluntarily, as brothers and equals in this Organization. As brothers and *equals*, because we all have equal sovereignty and we all regard that equal sovereignty as equally precious.

It is an international body. It is neither super-national nor supra-national. It is an organization of Nation States, and can only work as long as the Nation States want it to.

Have we all unanimously agreed to cede a part of our sovereignty to this body? No, we have not. We have accepted both the Charter and the Charter as signed by fully sovereign and fully equal Nation States.

It is possible that this body will have to consider whether its members should cede any part of their sovereignty to this international body.
But if such a decision is taken, it must be taken freely, and unanimously, and as equals. It must be decided equally by all nations, ancient and new, emerging and long-established and undeveloped.

This is not something that can be imposed on any nation. Furthermore, the only possible basis for such a body is true equality.

The sovereignty of the newest or smallest nation is just as precious, just as inviolable, as that of the largest or oldest nation. And besides, a violation of the sovereignty of one nation is a potential threat to the sovereignty of all nations.

It is in this picture of the world that we must see the world today. Our one world is made up of Nation States, each equally sovereign and each determined to maintain that sovereignty, and each entitled to maintain that sovereignty. And once again I say - and I repeat this because it is the basis of our understanding of the world today - we live in an age of nation-building.

This fact is far more important than the existence of nuclear weapons, more explosive than hydrogen bombs, and has a greater potential cost to the world than the splitting of the atom.

The balance of the world has changed since that day in June, fifteen years ago, when the Charter was signed in the American city of San Francisco, at a time when humanity was emerging from the hell of war.

The fate of mankind can no longer be determined by a few great and powerful nations. Also we, the younger nations, the budding nations, the smaller nations, we too have a voice and that voice will surely reverberate throughout the ages.

Well, we are aware of our responsibility for the future of all nations, and we gladly accept that responsibility. My nation pledges itself to work towards a better world, a world free of disputes and conflicts.

tension, a world where children can grow up proud and free, a world where justice and prosperity prevail for all. Would any nation reject such a promise?

A few months ago, just before the leaders of the Great Powers met so briefly in Paris, Mr. Khrushchov was our guest in Indonesia. I explained to him as clearly as possible that we welcomed the Summit, which we hoped would be successful, but that we were skeptical.

The Four Great Powers alone cannot decide matters of war and peace. More accurately, perhaps, they have the power to break the peace, but they have no moral right, either alone or together, to try to determine the future of the world.

For fifteen years now the West has known peace, or at least the absence of war. Of course, there were tensions. Indeed, there are dangers. But it remains a fact that, in the midst of a revolution covering three-quarters of the world, the West has remained at peace. The two great blocs have, in fact, successfully practiced coexistence all these years, thereby refuting those who deny the possibility of coexistence.

We in Asia have never known peace! After peace came for Europe, we felt the effects of the atomic bombs. We felt our own national revolution in Indonesia. We felt the torture of Vietnam. We suffered the persecution of Korea. We are still suffering the pain of Algeria. Should it be the turn of our brothers and sisters in Africa? Should they be tortured, while our wounds are still unhealed?

After all, the West is still at peace. Is it any wonder, gentlemen, that we are now demanding, yes, *demanding* the end of our torment? Is it any wonder, gentlemen, that my voice is now being heard in protest?

We, once voiceless, have demands and needs; we deserve to be heard. We are not trade goods, but living and powerful nations, who have a role to play in this world, and who must contribute to it.

I use strong words, and I use them deliberately, because I have a firm stand on this matter. I use strong words deliberately, because I am speaking for my nation and because I am speaking in front of the leaders of nations.

Apart from that, I know that my Brothers in Asia and Africa are equally firm in their stand, although I dare not speak on their behalf.

This General Assembly will certainly face many important matters. But nothing is more important than peace. In this regard, I do not speak at the moment about the questions arising between the Great Powers of the world. Such questions are vital for us, and I will return to them later. But look around our world. In many places there are tensions and potential sources of disputes. Look at these places and you will find that almost without exception, imperialism and colonialism in one of its many manifestations is the source of these tensions or disputes. Imperialism and colonialism and the continuous forcible separation of nations are the source of almost all the international evils that threaten our world.

Until the evils of the cursed past are put to an end, there will be no peace or tranquility in the whole world.

Imperialism, and the struggle to defend it, is the great evil in our world. Many of the Gentlemen in this Assembly have never known imperialism. Many of you were born free and will die free. Some of you were born into nations that have practiced imperialism against others, but have never suffered it themselves. But my brothers and sisters in Asia and Africa have known the whip of imperialism. They have suffered from it. They know its dangers and its cunning and its tenacity.

We in Indonesia know it too. We are experts in this matter! Based on this knowledge and on this experience, I tell you that the continuation of imperialism in all its forms is a great and continuing danger.

Imperialism is not yet dead. Yes, it is dying; yes, the tide of history is breaking against its fortress and eating away at its foundations; yes, the victory of independence and nationalism is certain. But - and mark my words - a dying imperialism is as dangerous as a wounded tiger in the tropical jungle.

This I reiterate to you gentlemen - and I am aware that I now speak for my brothers and sisters in Asia and Africa - the struggle for independence is always justified and right. Those who oppose the inevitable advance of national independence and self-determination are blind; those who seek to return what cannot be returned are a danger to themselves and to the world.

Until these realities - and they are realities - are recognized, there will be no peace in the world, and there will be no relief of tension. I appeal to you: put the authority and moral strength of the Organization of States behind those who are fighting for independence. Do it clearly and unequivocally. Do it now! Do it, and you will have the unanimous and sincere support of all people of good will. Do it now, and future generations will appreciate you. I appeal to you gentlemen, to all the members of the United Nations : Move with the current of history; do not try to stem it.

The United Nations now also has the opportunity to build for itself a great reputation and prestige. Those fighting for independence will seek support and allies wherever they can find them; it would be better if they turned to this body and to our Charter rather than to some group or section of this body.

Remove the causes of war, and we will be at peace. Remove the causes of tension and we will be at peace. Do not delay. The time is short. The danger is great.

Humanity around the world is crying out for peace and tranquility, and those things are within our power. Do not prevent it, because then this body will be defamed and abandoned. Our duty is not to defend the world, but to *rebuild it!* The future-if there is a future-will judge us on the success of our task.

I ask the long-established nations not to underestimate the power of nationalism. If you doubt its power, look around this Assembly and compare it with San Francisco fifteen years ago. Nationalism, a nationalism that has triumphed gloriously, has caused this change, and it is good. Today the world is enriched and ennobled by the wisdom of the leaders of the newly formed sovereign nations. To mention six of the many examples, namely one Norodom Sihanouk, one Nasser, one Nehru, one Sekao Toure, one Mao Tse Tung and one Nkrumah. Wouldn't the world be better off if they were here instead of using their whole lives and all their strength to overthrow the imperialism that shackles them? And their nations are already free, and my nation is free, and many more nations are free. Isn't the world thus a better and richer place?

Indeed, I do not need to tell you that we from Asia and Africa are against colonialism and imperialism. Moreover, who in today's world would still defend them? They have been universally condemned, and rightly so, and the old cynical excuses are no longer heard. The controversy now centers on the question of when the colonies will be free, and not on the question of whether they will be free.

But I want to emphasize this point. Our opposition to colonialism and imperialism arises both from our hearts and from our heads. We oppose it on humanitarian grounds, and we oppose it also on the grounds that it is a great and growing threat to peace.

The lack of agreement with the colonial powers revolved around questions of time and security, because now at least they were talking about the ideals of national independence.

Therefore, think deeply about nationalism and independence, about patriotism and about imperialism. Reflect deeply, I beg you, lest the tide of history sweep over you.

Nowadays, we hear and read a lot about disarmament. The word is usually used in connection with nuclear and atomic disarmament. Please forgive me. I am a simple man and a pacifist. I cannot talk about the details of disarmament. I cannot pass judgment on competing opinions about surveillance, about underground experiments and about seismographic records.

On the questions of imperialism and nationalism I am an expert, after a lifetime of study and struggle, and on these questions I speak with authority. But on the questions of nuclear warfare, I am just an ordinary person, perhaps like your neighbor or like your brother or even like your father. I share their horror, I share their fear.

I share the horror and fear because I am part of this world. I have children, and their future is in danger. I am an Indonesian, and that nation is in danger.

Those who used those weapons of mass destruction must now face their own consciences, and finally, perhaps in a charred state of radioactive dust, they must face Al Chalik. I do not envy them.

Those who question nuclear disarmament should not forget that we, who were previously voiceless in this regard, are watching and hoping.

We are watching and hoping, but we are filled with anxiety, because if nuclear war destroys our world, we will suffer too.

No creature has the right to exercise the prerogative of Almighty God. No one has the right to use hydro-gin bombs. No nation has the right to cause the possible destruction of all nations.

No political system, no economic organization is worthy of causing the destruction of the world, including the system and the organization itself.

If only the hydrogen-armed countries are involved in this issue, then we Asian and African nations will not pay any attention to it. We would simply look on, distanced, wondering why the countries from which we have learned so much, and which we admire so much, should today be drowning in the swamp of immorality. We will be able to exclaim: "Curse you!", and we will be able to return to a more balanced and peaceful world of our own.

But we cannot do that. We Asians have already suffered from the atomic bomb. We Asians are threatened again, and besides we feel it a moral obligation to render assistance wherever possible. We are not enemies of the East or the West. We are a part of the world and we want to help.

This is a cry from the hearts of Asia. Let us help solve these problems. Perhaps you have been paying attention for too long, and no longer see them clearly. Let us help you, and in helping you, we help ourselves, and all future generations around the world.

It is clear that the issue of disarmament is not just a disagreement on narrow technical grounds. It is also a question of mutual trust. In fact, it is clear that in the field of techniques and in the methods of negotiation and diplomacy, there is not much difference between us Asian-Africans and the two blocs. The problem is more a matter of mutual distrust. This is a problem that can be solved by these means. Other countries that do not belong to a bloc can help in this regard! We do not lack the experience and intelligence to hold talks. Perhaps our intercession can also be valuable.

Perhaps we can also provide assistance in finding a solution. Perhaps - who knows - we can show you the way to the only real disarmament, the disarmament of the human heart, the disarmament of human distrust and hatred.

Nothing is more urgent than this. And this problem is so vital for the whole humanity that the whole humanity should be included in its solution. I think at this moment we can say that only the pressure and efforts of the non-aligned countries will bring the necessary results to the whole world.

Genuine talks on disarmament, within the framework of this organization, and based on a genuine hope for its success, are essential today.

I emphasize "within the framework of this organization", because it is only this Assembly that begins to approach a true reflection of the world in which we live.

Ponder, ponder for a moment, what might happen if we could lay a foundation for true disarmament. Remember the enormous funds that could be used for the betterment of the world in which we live. Remember the tremendous impetus that could be given to the development of the less developed, even if only a part of the defense budgets of the Great Powers were channeled in this direction. Remember the tremendous increase in human happiness, human productivity and human welfare that could be brought about by this.

Let me add something more to this. If there is a greater immorality than demonstrating hydrogen weapons, it is conducting experiments with them. I know that there is a difference of scientific opinion about the genetic consequences of these experiments. But this difference only concerns the number of victims. There is a consensus of opinion about the existence of adverse genetic effects. Have those who authorized the experiments ever considered the consequences of their actions? Have they ever looked at their own children and reflected on those consequences? Today experiments with nuclear weapons are suspended, - note not banned, but only suspended. So, let us use this fact as a starting point. Let us use this fact as a basis for banning experiments, and then for real disarmament.

Before leaving the issue of disarmament, I would like to make one more comment. Talking about disarmament is good. But making a serious effort to conclude a disarmament agreement would be even better. And the best thing is the implementation of the disarmament agreement.

But let us be realistic. Even the implementation of a disarmament agreement will not be a guarantee for peace in a world of misery and hardship. Peace will only come if the causes of tension and clashes are removed.

If there is a cause for clash, then people will fight with pointed bamboo, if no other weapon is available. I know because my own nation did so in our struggle for independence. We have fought with knives and bamboo sticks. To achieve peace, we must remove the causes of tension and the causes of clashes. That is why I speak from the bottom of my heart about the need to work together to bring about the ignominious demise of imperialism.

Where there is imperialism, and where there is a simultaneous organization of armed forces, the situation is indeed dangerous, Again I speak from experience. This is the situation in West Irian. Such is the situation in one-fifth of our national territory which today remains bent under the shackles of imperialism.

It is there that we face imperialism and the armed forces of imperialism. At the borders of this area, our troops speak on land and at sea. The two armed forces are facing each other, and I can say that it is an explosive situation. Not so long ago the army in West Irian, which was young and misguided and defended an outdated ideology, was strengthened by the arrival of the aircraft carrier Karel Doorman from his distant homeland. This is when things got really dangerous.

The Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Army sat in my delegation: His name is General Nasution. He is a professional soldier and an accomplished warrior. Like the men he leads, and like the nation he defends, he is a professional soldier and an accomplished warrior.

was first of all a man of peace. But more than that, he and his men and my nation served to defend our homeland.

We have tried to resolve the West Irian issue. We have tried earnestly and with patience and tolerance and hope. We have tried to hold bilateral negotiations. We have tried earnestly and for many years. We have tried and are still trying. We have tried to use the tools of the United Nations and the world opinion power expressed here. We have tried and in this respect we are still trying.

Hope was gone; patience was gone; even tolerance had reached its limit. All that has now been exhausted and the Dutch have offered no alternative but to harden our stance. If they failed to correctly assess the course of history, then we cannot be blamed. But the result of their failure is a threat to peace and, once again, to the United Nations.

West Irian is a colonial sword threatened against Indonesia. This sword is aimed at our heart, but it also threatens world peace.

Our present earnest efforts to reach a settlement by our own means are part of our contribution towards securing world peace. It is part of our efforts to put an end to this world problem which is an obsolete evil. Our endeavor is an earnest surgical attempt to remove the cancer of imperialism from the region of the world where we live and are.

I say with all seriousness that the situation in West Irian is a dangerous situation, an explosive situation, a cause of tension and a threat to peace. General Nasution is not responsible for it. Our army is not responsible for that. Soekarno is not responsible for it. Indonesia is not responsible for it. No! The threat to peace comes directly from the existence of imperialism and colonialism.

Remove the restraints on freedom and emancipation, and the threat to peace will disappear. Down with imperialism, and soon the world will be a cleaner place, a better place, a safer place.

I know that if I raise this point, many minds will turn to the situation in Konggo. Gentlemen may ask, has not imperialism been expelled from Konggo with the result that there is now strife and bloodshed in the region? This is not the case! The regrettable situation in Konggo was directly caused by imperialism, and not by the end of imperialism. Imperialism is trying to hold on to its position in Konggo; it is trying to control and paralyze the new State. That is why Konggo flared up.

Yes, in Konggo, there is suffering. But that suffering is the birth pangs of progress and explosive progress always brings pain. Uprooting entrenched national and international interests always causes pain and turmoil.

We know that. We also know from our own experiences that development itself causes upheaval. A nation in turmoil

needs leadership and guidance, and will eventually produce its own leadership and guidance.

We Indonesians speak from bitter experience. The Konggo problem, which is a problem of colonialism and imperialism, must be resolved using the principles I have outlined. Konggo is a sovereign country. That sovereignty should be respected. Remember the sovereignty of Konggo is no less than the sovereignty of every nation represented in this Assembly, and this sovereignty must be equally respected.

In the internal affairs of Konggo there should be no muddy hands and absolutely no help, overt or covert, to destroy the country.

Yes, the nation will make mistakes, we all make mistakes and we all learn from our mistakes. Yes, upheavals will arise, but let them take place, for this is a sign of rapid growth and development. The extent of the upheaval is a matter for the nation itself.

Let us, individually, as well as collectively, assist there when we are requested to do so by the legitimate government of that country. But any such assistance must be clearly based on the inviolable sovereignty of Konggo.

Finally, put your trust in the nation! They are undergoing a time of great trial and are suffering greatly. Have faith in them as a newly independent nation, and they will find their own way towards solving their own problems.

Here I would like to issue a very serious warning. Many members of this organization and many officials of this organization may not be aware of the deeds of imperialism and colonialism.

They have never experienced him; they do not know his tenacity and his fierceness and his many faces, and his wickedness.

We from Asia and Africa know him. I say to you gentlemen: Do not act as an ignorant tool of imperialism. Do not act as the blind right hand of colonialism. If you do, then you will surely kill this United Nations Organization, and in so doing you will kill the hopes of countless millions of human beings, and you may cause the future to die in the womb.

Before leaving these issues, I would like to mention another major issue of a similar nature. I am referring to Algeria. There is a sad picture here, where both sides are being bloodied and destroyed because of the lack of a settlement. It is a tragedy!

It is clear that the people of Algeria want independence. That cannot be denied. Had it not been so, the long, bitter and bloody struggle would have ended many years ago. The thirst for independence and the steadfastness to achieve it are the main factors in this situation.

What has not yet been determined is how close and harmonious the future cooperation with France should be. Such a close and harmonious cooperation will not be difficult to achieve even at the present stage, although it will probably become more difficult to achieve as the struggle continues.

Therefore, hold a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations in Algeria to determine the will of the people as to how close and harmonious these relations should be. The plebiscite should not be on the question of independence. Independence has been decided with blood and tears and there will certainly be an independent Algeria.

Such a plebiscite as I have suggested, if organized at short notice, would be the best guarantee that between independent Algeria and France there would be a close and cordial cooperation for mutual benefit. Once again I speak from experience. Indonesia had no intention of damaging the close and harmonious relations with the Netherlands. However, it seems that even today, as in past generations, the government of the nation clings to "giving too little and asking too much". It is only when it becomes unbearable that relations are severed.

Let me turn to the broader issue of war and peace in our world. What is certain is that the newborn and reborn states do not pose a threat to world peace. We have no territorial ambitions; nor do we have unrealizable economic goals. The threat to peace does not come from us, but rather from the side of the older, long-established and stable states.

O, yes, in our countries there was upheaval. In fact, the upheaval seems to be a function of the first period of independence. Is that surprising? Let me take an example from American history. Within one generation there was the War of Independence and the Civil War between the States.

Furthermore, this generation also had to experience the emergence of militant labor unions - the International Workers of the World (I.W.W.), the "Wobblies". There was also the migration to the West. There was the Industrial Revolution and, yes, even the time of the "actentas merchants". It had to suffer the consequences of people á la Benedict Arnold. And as I've often said, we pushed through many revolutions in one revolution and many generations in one generation.

So should you be surprised if there is upheaval among us? For us it is normal and we have become accustomed to riding the whirlwind. I understand very well that to outsiders it often looks like a picture of chaos and unrest and power struggles. However, the upheaval is our own business and poses no threat to anyone, although it often provides opportunities to interfere in our affairs.

However, the conflicting interests of the Great Powers are another matter: In this case the issues are obscured by threats with hydrogen bombs and by the repetition of old, tired slogans.

We cannot ignore them because they threaten us. After all, all too often they do not seem to be real. I want to tell you frankly and without hesitation that we put our own future far above the European quarrels.

Yes, we have learned a lot from Europe and America. We have studied your history and the lives of the great people of your nation. We have followed the example of you, and we have even tried to surpass you. We speak your languages and read your books. We have been inspired by Lincoln and Lenin, by Cromwell and Garibaldi. And indeed we still have much to learn from you in many fields. But at present the fields in which we have to learn more from you are technical and scientific, and not ideologically dictated ideas or movements.

In Asia and Africa today there are still alive, still thinking, still acting, those who led their nations to independence, those who developed great and liberating economic theories, those who have overthrown injustice, those who united their nations and those who conquered the divisions of their nations.

Therefore, and rightfully so, we from Asia-Africa approach each other for guidance and inspiration and we look to ourselves for the experience and wisdom that our nations have accumulated.

Do you not think that Asia and Africa may have a mandate and a way for the whole world?

It was the great English philosopher Bertrand Russell who once said that humanity is now divided into two groups. One adheres to the teachings of Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of American Independence. The other adheres to the teachings of the Communist Manifesto.

I am sorry, Lord Russell, but I think you are forgetting something. I think you are forgetting that there are more than a thousand million people, the people of Asia and Africa, and probably the people of Latin America, who do not subscribe to the teachings of the Communist Manifesto or the Declaration of Independence. You see, we admire these two doctrines, and we have learned a lot from them and we have been inspired by them.

Who will not be inspired by the words and spirit of the Declaration of Independence! "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that men are created equal, that they are endowed by Al Chalik with certain inalienable rights, and that among these rights are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Who is involved in the struggle for life and national independence; will not be inspired! And again, who among us, struggling to establish a just and prosperous society on the ruins of colonialism, would not be inspired by the image of cooperation and economic development that Marx and Engels envisioned!

Now there has been a confrontation between the two views, and that confrontation is dangerous, not only for those on the other side but also for the rest of the world.

I cannot speak on behalf of the other Asian and African countries? I am not authorized to do so, and after all they themselves are competent to express their own views. But I am authorized, even commissioned, to speak on behalf of my nation of ninety-two million.

As I said, we have read and studied the two main documents: From each of them we have taken much and discarded what is not useful to us, those of us living on other continents and generations later. We have synthesized what we needed from both documents, and in the light of our own experience and knowledge, we have distilled and adjusted the synthesis.

So, with apologies to Lord Russell, for whom I have great respect, the world is not entirely divided into two sides as he thinks.

Although we have taken the essence, and although we have tried to synthesize the two important documents; we are not led by them alone. We follow neither the liberal conception nor the communist conception. What is the point? From our own experience and from our own history grew something else, something much more suitable, something much more suitable.

The flow of history clearly shows that all nations need some conception and ideals. If they do not have them or if these conceptions and ideals become vague and obsolete, then the nation is in danger. Our own Indonesian history shows this clearly, and so does the history of the entire world.

That "something" we call "Panca Sila". Yes, "Panca Sila" or the Five Principles of our country. The Five Principles do not stem directly from the Communist Manifesto or the Declaration of Independence. Indeed, these ideas and ideals have, perhaps, been with us for centuries. And it is not surprising that these notions of great strength and manliness have arisen in our nation during our two thousand years of civilization and during centuries of national glory, before imperialism sank us into a moment of national weakness.

So speaking of the Five Precepts before gentlemen, I am putting forward the essence of our two thousand years of civilization.

What are the Five Principles? It's very simple: first, Belief in One God, second, Nationalism, third, Internationalism, fourth, Democracy and fifth, Social Justice,

Let me now just elaborate on these five points.

First: The One True God. My nation includes people who follow various religions. Some are Muslims, some are Christians, some are Buddhists and some do not follow any religion. However, for eighty-five percent of our ninety-two million people, the Indonesian nation is made up of followers of Islam. Based on this fact, and keeping in mind the diversity but unity of our nation, we place the One True God at the forefront of our philosophy of life. Even those who do not believe in God, because of their innate tolerance, recognize that belief in the Almighty is characteristic of their nation, so they accept this first Precept.

Then as number two is Nationalism. The burning power of nationalism and the desire for independence sustained us and gave us strength throughout the long darkness of colonialism, and during the blazing struggle for independence. Today that burning force still burns in our hearts and keeps us alive! But our nationalism is not chauvinism. We do not consider ourselves superior to other nations.

We have never tried to impose our will on other nations. I know very well that the term "nationalism" is suspect, even distrusted in Western countries. This is because the West has raped and perverted nationalism. Yet true nationalism still burns in Western countries. Otherwise, the West would not have challenged Hitler's aggressive weapon of chauvinism.

Doesn't nationalism? Call it patriotism if you will - sustain the survival of all nations? Who dares to deny the nation, which gave birth to him? Who dares to turn his back on the nation, which made him? Nationalism is the great engine that drives and oversees all our international activities; it is the great source and the great inspiration of independence.

Our nationalism in Asia and Africa is not the same as that of the Western system of states. In the West, nationalism developed as an aggressive force that sought expansion and benefits for its national economy. Nationalism in the West is the grandfather of imperialism, whose father is Capitalism. In Asia and Africa and I think also in Latin America, nationalism is a liberation movement, a protest movement against imperialism and colonialism, and a response to the oppression of nationalism-chauvinism that originated in Europe. Asian and African Nationalism and Latin American Nationalism cannot be considered without taking into account their social core.

In Indonesia, we consider the social core as the driving force to achieve justice and prosperity. Isn't that a good goal that is acceptable to everyone? I am not talking just about ourselves in Indonesia, nor just about my brothers and sisters in Asia and Africa and Latin America. I am talking about the whole world. A just and prosperous society can be the ideal and goal of all people.

Mahatma Gandhi once said: "I am a nationalist, but my nationalism is humanitarian". We say the same. We are nationalists, we love our nation and all nations. We are nationalists because we believe that nations are vital to the world today, and we remain so, as far as the eye can see into the future. Because we are nationalists, we support and advocate nationalism wherever we find it.

Our third *principle* is Internationalism. There is no conflict between Nationalism and Internationalism. It is true that internationalism cannot grow and flourish except on the fertile soil of nationalism. Is not the United Nations Organization a clear proof of this? There was the League of Nations. Now there is the United Nations. The names themselves show that the nations want and need an international body, where every nation is equal. Internationalism is not cosmopolitanism, which is a denial of nationalism, which is anti-national and indeed contrary to reality.

The fourth precept is Democracy. Democracy is neither a monopoly nor an invention of Western social order. More strictly, democracy seems to be the original justice of man, albeit modified to suit special social conditions.

Over the millennia of Indonesian civilization, we have developed Indonesian forms of democracy. We believe that these forms have international relevance and significance. This is a matter I will talk about later.

Finally, the last and foremost Precept is Social Justice. To this Social Justice we attach social prosperity, because we consider the two to be inseparable. True, only a prosperous society can be a just society, although prosperity itself can reside in social injustice.

These are our Five Precepts. Belief in One God, Nationalism, Internationalism, Democracy and Social Justice.

It is not my task today to describe how we are trying, in our national life and affairs, to use and implement the Five Precepts. If I were to elaborate on this, it would disturb the hospitality of this international body.

But I sincerely believe that the Five Precepts contain much more than just a national meaning. The Five Precepts have a universal meaning and can be used internationally.

No one would dispute the element of truth in the views expressed by Bertrand Russell. A large part of the world has been divided into those who accept the ideas and principles of the Declaration of American Independence and those who accept the ideas and principles of the Communist Manifesto. Those who accept one reject the other, and there is a clash on ideological as well as practical grounds.

We are all threatened by these clashes and we feel worried because of these clashes. Is there no action that can be taken against this threat? Does it have to go on from generation to generation, with the possibility of eventually erupting into a sea of fire that will engulf us all? Is there no way out?

There must be a way out. If there is none, then all our deliberations, all our hopes, all our struggles will be in vain.

We Indonesians are not willing to rest on our chins while the world is heading towards the brink of collapse. We are not willing that the bright dawn of our independence be clouded by radio-active clouds. None of the nations of Asia or Africa will accept this. We bear responsibility for the world, and we are ready to accept and fulfill that responsibility. If it means interfering in what were once the affairs of the Great Powers that were kept away from us, then we will be willing to do so. No Asian or African nation will deny us that duty.

Isn't it obvious that clashes arise primarily because of inequality? In a nation, the existence of the rich and the poor, and the exploited and the exploited, gives rise to clashes. Eliminate exploitation, and the clash will cease, because the cause that gave rise to the clash is no longer there,

Among nations, if there are rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, there will also be clashes. Remove the cause that gives rise to the clash, and the clash will cease. This is true both internationally and within nations. The elimination of imperialism and colonialism eliminates such exploitation of nation by nation.

I believe that there is a way out of this ideological confrontation. I believe that the solution lies in the universal adoption of the Five Precepts!

Who among the gentlemen rejects the Five Precepts? Do the honorable representatives of the great American Nation reject it? Did the honorable representatives of the great Russian nation reject it? Or is it the honorable representatives of England or Poland, or France or Czechoslovakia? Or is it that some of them seem to have taken a static position in the Cold War between ideas and practices, and are trying to remain deeply rooted while the world faces chaos?

Look, look at the delegation supporting me! The delegation is not made up of civil servants or professional politicians. This delegation represents the Indonesian nation. There are soldiers in this delegation. They accepted the Panca Sila, there was a great Islamic scholar, who was the pillar of his religion. He accepted the Five Precepts. Then there was a strong leader of the Indonesian Communist Party. He accepted the Panca Sila. Then there were representatives of the Catholic and Protestant groups, of the Nationalist Party and the workers' and peasants' organizations, as well as women, intellectuals and government officials. All of them accepted the Panca Sila.

They do not accept the Five Precepts merely as an ideological conception, but as a very practical guide to action. Those among my people who try to become leaders but reject the Five Precepts are also rejected by the Indonesian people.

What is the international application of the Five Precepts? How can the Five Precepts be put into practice? Let us look at the five points one by one.

First: The One True God. No one who accepts the Declaration Of American Independence as a guide to life and action would deny it. Similarly, no follower of the Communist Manifesto, in this international forum, would deny the right to believe in the Almighty. For further clarification on this point, I invite the honorable gentlemen to ask Mr. Aidit, chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who sits in my Delegation and who fully accepts both the Communist Manifesto and the Five Precepts.

Second: Nationalism. We are all representatives of nations. If we reject nationalism, then we must reject our own nationality and reject the sacrifices made by generations. But I warn you: if you accept the principle of nationalism, then you must reject imperialism. But to that warning I would like to add another: If you reject imperialism, you will automatically and immediately eliminate from this troubled world the greatest cause of tensions and clashes.

Third: Internationalism. Is it necessary to talk at length about internationalism in this international body? If our nations were not internationally minded, they would not be members of this organization. However, true internationalism is not always found here. I regret to say so, but it is a fact. Too often the Association of Nations is used as a forum for narrow national or sectional goals. Too often the lofty goals and lofty ideals of our charter are obscured by the pursuit of national advantage or national prestige. True internationalism must be based on equality of honor,

equality of esteem and on the basis of the practical application of the truth that all men are brothers. To quote the charter of the United Nations - that oft-forgotten document - internationalism must "reaffirm the belief in the equal rights of nations, great and small".

Finally, and once again, internationalism will mean the end of imperialism and colonialism, and thus the end of many dangers and tensions.

Fourth: Democracy. For us Indonesians, democracy contains three key elements. First of all, democracy contains the principle of what we call *Mufakat*, namely: unanimity of opinion. Secondly, democracy contains the principle of *Representation*.

Finally, democracy contains, for us, the principle of *deliberation*. Yes, Indonesian democracy contains all three principles: consensus, representation and deliberation between representatives.

Consider. This organization of the United Nations is an organization of equal nations, an organization of states of equal sovereignty, equal independence and equal pride in sovereignty and independence. The only way in which this organization can perform its functions satisfactorily is by means of *consensus* obtained in *deliberation*. Deliberation should be conducted in such a way that there is no rivalry between conflicting opinions, no resolutions and counter-resolutions, no partisanship, but only a determined effort to find a common basis for solving a problem. From this kind of deliberation comes a consensus, a unanimity of opinion, which is stronger than a resolution imposed by a majority vote, a resolution which may not be accepted, or which may not be favored by the minority.

Do I speak idealistically? Do I dream of an idealized, romanticized world?

No! Both my feet are firmly on the ground! Yes, I look up to the sky for inspiration but my mind is not in the clouds. I affirm that these methods of deliberation are feasible. For us, these methods are feasible. They are feasible in our D.P.R., they are feasible in our D.P.A., they are feasible in our Cabinet.

This method of deliberation is feasible because the representatives of our nation want it to be feasible. The Communists want it, the nationalists want it, the Muslims want it and the Christians want it. The army wants it, both the townspeople and the people in the remote villages want it, the intelligentsia want it and the people who are trying with all their might to eradicate illiteracy want it. Everyone wants it, because everyone wants to achieve the clear goal of the Five Precepts, and that clear goal is a just and prosperous society.

Gentlemen may say: "Yes, we will accept President Soekaro's words and we will accept the evidence we see in the composition of his delegation at the United Nations today, but we are realists in a cruel world. The only way to organize an international meeting is the way in which the United Nations is organized, namely by resolutions, amendments, majoritarian and minoritarian votes".

Let me emphasize something. We know from equally bitter, equally practical and equally realistic experience that our methods of deliberation can also be carried out in the international field. In that field they work just as well as in the national field.

As you know, not so long ago, representatives of twenty-nine nations from Asia and Africa gathered in Bandung. The leaders of these nations are not impractical daydreamers. Far from it! They are tough and realist leaders of the peoples and nations, most of them graduated from the struggle for national independence, all of them know well the realities of political and international life and leadership.

They have different political views, from extreme right to extreme left.

Many people in Western countries could not believe that such a conference could produce anything useful. Many were even of the opinion that the conference would break up in a state of chaos and recrimination, divided on the rocks of differing political views.

The Asian-African Conference was organized by means of deliberation.

There were no majorities or minorities at the conference. Nor was there a vote. There was only deliberation and a general desire for agreement. The conference produced a unanimous communiqué, a communiqué that is one of the most important of this decade and perhaps one of the most important documents in history.

Do you still have doubts about the benefits and efficiency of such deliberations?

I am convinced that the sincere use of such deliberative methods will facilitate the work of this international organization. Yes, perhaps this method will enable the real work of this organization. This way of deliberation will show the way to solve many problems that have been piled up over the years. This way of deliberation will enable the resolution of seemingly insoluble problems.

And I respectfully request that gentlemen remember that history treats those who fail mercilessly.

Who today remembers those who broke the bones of the League of Nations? We remember only those who have destroyed an organization of the nations of a part of the world. We are not willing to stand on our chins and watch this organization, our own organization, be destroyed because it was not flexible, or because it was slow to respond to the changing world situation.

Is it not worth a try? If you think not, then you must be willing to answer for your decision before the court of history.

Finally, within the Five Precepts is Social Justice. To be implemented on the international plane, this would probably be international social justice. Again, accepting this principle would mean rejecting colonialism and imperialism.

Furthermore, the acceptance by the United Nations of social justice as a goal would mean the acceptance of certain responsibilities and obligations.

It will mean a firm and concerted effort to end many of the social evils, which plague our world. It will mean that aid to underdeveloped countries and disadvantaged nations will be removed from the Cold War atmosphere. It will also mean the practical recognition that all men are brothers and that all men have a responsibility towards their brothers.

Is this not a noble goal! Does anyone dare to deny the glory and justice of this goal? If anyone dares to deny it, then tell him to face reality! Make him face the hungry, make him face the illiterate, make him face the sick and make him then justify his denial!

Let me once again repeat the five precepts. Belief in One God; Nationalism; Internationalism; Democracy; Social Justice.

Let us investigate whether they actually constitute a synthesis that is acceptable to all of us. Let us ask ourselves whether the acceptance of these principles will provide a solution to the problems faced by this organization.

True, the United Nations does not consist solely of the United Nations Charter. Nonetheless, that historic document remains the guiding star and inspiration of the organization.

In many ways the Charter reflects the political and power constellation of the time it was born. In many ways the charter does not reflect the reality of the present.

Let us therefore consider whether the five precepts I have outlined can strengthen and improve our charter.

I am convinced, yes, I am absolutely convinced that the acceptance of these five principles and their inclusion in the charter will greatly strengthen the United Nations. I am convinced that the Five Precepts will place the United Nations at par with the latest developments in the world. I am convinced that the Five Precepts will enable the United Nations to face the future with freshness and confidence. Finally, I am convinced that the adoption of the Five Precepts as the basis of the Charter will make it more sincerely accepted by all its members, old and new.

I will raise one more issue in this connection. It is a great honor for a country that the United Nations is based within its territory. We are all truly grateful that the United States has given our Organization a permanent home. However, it may be questionable whether that is appropriate.

With all due respect, I submit that this may not be correct. The fact that the seat of the United Nations is on the territory of one of the leading countries of the Cold War means that the Cold War has penetrated even into the work and administration and housekeeping of our Organization. Such has been the extent of the seepage that the presence of the leader of a great nation at the session of the United Nations has made it possible for him to be present at the meeting.

This nation alone has become a Cold War issue and a Cold War weapon, as well as a tool to sharpen that dangerous and futile way of life.

Let us see if the seat of our Organization does not need to be moved away from the Cold War atmosphere. Let us see if Asia or Africa or Geneva will be able to provide us with a permanent place away from the Cold War, not tied to any one bloc and where Delegates can move freely and freely as they wish.

By doing so, it is possible to gain a broader understanding of the world and its problems.

I am convinced that any Asian or African country, given its convictions and beliefs, would gladly show its generosity to the United Nations, perhaps by providing a sufficiently large area where the Organization itself would be sovereign and where negotiations essential to its vital work could be conducted in safety and in an atmosphere of brotherhood.

The United Nations is no longer the body that signed the Charter fifteen years ago. The world is not the same as it was. Those who wisely labored to produce the Charter of this Organization could not have foreseen its present form. Among those wise and far-sighted men, only a few realized that the end of imperialism was in sight and that if the Organization was to survive, it must allow the reborn nations to enter in droves, in droves and with vigor.

The purpose of the United Nations should be to solve problems. To use it as a mere forum for debate, or as a channel for propaganda, or as an extension of domestic politics, is to pervert the noble ideals that should permeate this body.

Colonial upheavals, the rapid development of technically underdeveloped regions and the question of disarmament are all appropriate and urgent issues for our consideration and deliberation. It has become clear, however, that these vital issues cannot be satisfactorily addressed by the present United Nations Organization. The history of this body shows the sad and obvious truth of what I have said.

It is not surprising that this is so. The reality is that our Organization reflects the world of Nineteen Forty-Five, and not the world of today. Such is the case with all its bodies-except this one great Assembly-and with all its Institutes.

The organization and membership of the Security Council - the most important body - reflected the economic, military and power map of the world in Nineteen Forty-Five, when the Organization was born out of great inspiration and wishful thinking. The same is true of most of the other Institutions. They do not reflect the rise of the Socialist countries or the rapidly developing independence of Asia and Africa.

To modernize and streamline our Organization, perhaps even the Secretariat under the leadership of its Secretary General, may need a review. By

Having said that, I am not - in no way - criticizing or reproaching in any way the present Secretary-General, who is constantly trying, under unacceptable circumstances, to do his job well, which sometimes seems impossible.

So, how can they be efficient? How can the members of the two classes in this world-that is, the classes that are a reality and that must be accepted-how can the members of the two classes feel at ease in this Organization and have the necessary full confidence in it.

Since the war we have witnessed three major permanent phenomena. The first is the

rise of the socialist countries. This was not expected in the year Nineteen Forty-Five. The second was the great wave of national liberation and the economic emancipation that is sweeping Asia and Africa and our brothers and sisters in Latin America. I think that only we, who are directly involved in it, can expect it. The third is the great scientific advances, which were all engaged in the field of armaments and warfare, but which today are moving into the vastness of the barriers and frontiers of space. Who could have foreseen it at the time?

True, our Charter can be amended. I realize that there is a procedure for doing this and there will come a time when this can be done. But this issue is urgent. It may be a matter of life or death for the United Nations. Let not shortsighted legalistic views prevent this endeavor from being undertaken promptly.

It is equally important that the division of seats in the Security Council and other bodies and institutions be changed. In this respect I am not thinking in terms of blocs, but I am thinking of the great need for the Charter of the United Nations, of the United Nations bodies and the Secretariat of the United Nations, all of which reflect the true state of our world today.

We and Indonesia look to this organization with great hope, but also with great concern. We look to it with great hope, because it has been useful to us in the struggle for our national life. We look to it with great hope, because we believe that only such an organization can provide the framework for the healthy and secure world we long for.

We view it with great concern, because we have brought a major national issue, the question of West Irian, before this Assembly, and no settlement has been achieved. We view it with concern, because the Great Powers of the world have brought their dangerous Cold War games into its chambers.

We look at it, with concern, lest this Assembly should fail and follow in the footsteps of the organization it replaces, thereby removing from the eyes of humanity an image of a secure and united future.

Let us face the fact that this Organization, with the methods it uses today and in its present form, is a product of the Western State system. Forgive me, but I cannot uphold that system. I cannot even look upon it with love, although I value it very much.

Imperialism and colonialism are the fruits of the Western state system, and in common with the vast majority of the Organization, I hate imperialism, I disdain colonialism, and I fear the consequences of its last fierce struggle for life. Twice in my own lifetime the Western State system has torn itself apart and once nearly destroyed the world in a fierce clash.

Is it any wonder, gentlemen, that many of us view the Organization, which is also a product of the Western system, with questioning eyes? Do not misunderstand, gentlemen. We respect and admire the system inspired by the words of Lincoln and Lenin, by the deeds of Washington and by the deeds of Garibaldi. Even, perhaps, we look with envy at some of the physical results achieved by the West. But we are determined that our nations, and the world as a whole, will not be the plaything of one small part of the world.

We are not trying to preserve the world we know, we are trying to build a new, better world!

We seek to build a world that is healthy and safe. We seek to build a world where everyone can live in peace. We seek to build a world where there is justice and prosperity for all. We seek to build a world where humanity can achieve its full glory.

It has been said that we are living in the midst of a Revolution of Rising Expectations. This is not true! We are living in the midst of a Revolution of Rising Demands. Those who were once without freedom are now demanding freedom. Those who were once voiceless are now demanding that their voices be heard.

Those who were once hungry now demand rice, lots of it and every day. Those who were once illiterate, now demand education.

The whole world is a great source of Revolutionary energy, a great storehouse of revolutionary gunpowder.

No less than three-quarters of humanity is involved in the Revolution of Rising Demands, and this is the greatest Revolution since mankind first walked upright in a pure and pleasant world.

The success or failure of the Organization will be judged by its relationship to the Revolution of Rising Demands. Future generations will praise or condemn us for our response to this challenge.

We dare not fail. We dare not turn our backs on history. If we dare, we really will not be helped anymore. My nation is determined not to fail. I do not speak to you out of weakness, I speak out of strength. I address you in the depths of the ninety-two million people and I address to you the demands of the nation. We have an opportunity to build together a better world, a safer world. This opportunity may never come again. So grasp it, hold on tight, and seize the opportunity.

No man of good will and personality will reject the hopes and convictions I have expressed on behalf of my nation, and

indeed on behalf of the entire human race. So let us try, right now with no further delay, to make these hopes a reality.

As a practical step in this direction, it is my honor and duty to present a Draft Resolution to this General Assembly.

On behalf of the Delegations of Ghana, India, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Indonesia, I hereby submit the following resolution:

"GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

"FEELING VERY DISAPPOINTED regarding the recent deterioration of international relations, which threatens the world with severe consequences;

"RECOGNIZING the great hope of the world that this Assembly will assist in helping to prepare the way towards the easing of world tensions;

"RECOGNIZING the heavy and urgent responsibility that rests upon the shoulders of the United Nations, to take the initiative in efforts that can help;

"Request, as an urgent first step, that the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Soviet Republics resume their recently interrupted contacts, so that the willingness they have expressed to seek by negotiations a progressive solution of the outstanding problems can be implemented".

Mr. Chairman, may I request, on behalf of the Delegations of the five countries mentioned above, that this resolution receive your prompt consideration. A letter to that effect, signed by the Heads of Delegations of Ghana, India, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Indonesia, has been submitted to the Secretariat.

I present this Draft Resolution on behalf of the five Delegations and on behalf of the millions of people living in these countries.

Accepting this Resolution is a possible and immediate measure. Therefore, this General Assembly should adopt this resolution as soon as possible. Let us take this practical step towards easing the dangerous world tension. Let us accept this resolution unanimously, so that all the pressure of world interests can be felt. Let us take this first step, and let us be determined to continue our activities and insistence until we achieve the better and safer world we envision.

Remember what has gone before. Remember the struggles and sacrifices endured by us, the new members of this Organization. Remember that our efforts have been caused and prolonged by the rejection of the foundations of the United Nations. We are determined that this will never happen again.

Build this world again! Build this world firm and strong and healthy! Build a world where all nations live in peace and brotherhood. Build a world in accordance with the dreams and ideals of mankind. Break now with the past, for the dawn is breaking. Break now with the past, so that we can take responsibility for the future.

I pray that the Almighty may give grace and guidance to the deliberations of this Assembly.

Thank you!

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